

Comment on the Week

VOL. LXXIX, NO. 10, JUNE 12, 1948

Outlook for peace and prices

As this is being written, peace of a sort reigns throughout American industry. In the wake of the settlement at General Motors, Chrysler agreed to a straight hourly increase of thirteen cents, plus some fringe adjustments, and 76,000 strikers trooped back to work. Not content with setting the pace for automobiles, GM proceeded to apply some pressure to General Electric and Westinghouse, which up to now have stood with the steel industry in rejecting all demands for a third-round wage increase. To 40,000 workers in its electrical divisions, GM offered the same terms accepted a week before by its automotive employes. In more ways than one, this giant company appears to have had a change of heart. Last year it settled first with the communist-dominated United Electrical Workers and thus left Walter Reuther, then engaged in a showdown fight with the Stalinist faction in the United Auto Workers, out on a limb. This year, showing more ideological "savvy," it came to terms first with UAW. These settlements created an uneasy feeling in the steel industry, and one of these days U.S. Steel's Ben Fairless will probably offer Philip Murray terms that will not compare unfavorably with GM's offer. From a public relations standpoint, steel's position, with productivity up and profits princely, is embarrassing. Even though maritime contracts expire next Tuesday and coal contracts two weeks later, no major strike is likely to occur before September. The Government will certainly use the Taft-Hartley Act to delay for eighty days threatened stoppages in these key industries. What the new wage adjustments will mean to prices is another matter. Leon Henderson predicted last week that the cost of living would advance two or three per cent by the end of the year. The one-time OPA administrator will probably turn out to be right. But industry, by taking some fat off ample profit margins and enlisting the aid of labor to step up productivity, could easily fool the prophets. Too many people erroneously believe that wage increases have been solely responsible for price increases. As Professors Sumner Slichter and J. M. Clark have pointed out, this is by no means true, even of industrial prices.

Don't look now, General Smith

Despite the assurances given to Moscow by Ambassador W. Bedell Smith, politics are weakening the bold front of our country's unanimity and drive. In addition to the European Recovery Program, the Eightieth Congress has passed three other major measures: the income tax reduction (which very likely will be restored next year), authorization of the seventy-group Air Force (against the advice of the Secretary of Defense and manifestly to escape facing up to the draft) and the extension of rent controls. Partisan political considerations and a lack of coordination of the programming of House and

Senate leave many major bills awaiting final action as June 19 approaches—the day by which the Republican policy committee of the Senate promises to make "every human effort" to adjourn. Thirty million words have crowded the pages of the Congressional Record (uncounted millions more were used in hearings) and still the country has no legislation on crucial problems concerning housing, health, increase in minimum wages, civil rights, expansion of social security. Crowding the calendar of the closing days of Congress are proposals for authorizing entry of displaced persons, for UMT and/or selective service, for extension of reciprocal trade agreements, Presidential war powers, the terms of the Atomic Energy Commissioners, for repeal of restrictions on oleomargarine, for control of communist subversive activities, for congressional support of a Western European Union, for a long-term farm program to replace the price-support system that expires in December. The politician may live to learn that, like the prize-fighter, he who prefers not to stand up to be counted gets counted out.

A better Germany for better Germans

A Western German state came closer to realization last week, marking a major advance toward restoring the ex-enemy peoples to full and equal fellowship in the international community. At London, ambassadors representing the three occupation Powers and the Benelux countries (Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg) have agreed on calling a constituent assembly for September 1, at which duly authorized German delegates would draw up a constitution for the 45,000,000 people who live in the three Western zones. The agreement contemplates, in addition, a seven-Power international authority (to include the new Western German state) to control allocation of the coal, coke and steel of the Ruhr. The plan also provides for military supervision, but even with this safeguard the negotiators who issued the agreement last week made it known they had their fingers crossed. The attitude of France has long been the key to the problem of unifying the three zones, and Foreign Minister Georges Bidault must now defend the work of his aides at London before a very critical French Parliament. Though it is known that Bidault's negotiators obtained numerous concessions extremely favorable to the French point of view, only the Assembly can decide whether these are acceptable. But the Foreign Minister feels—as indeed do all the six Powers—that action can no longer be delayed, and Bidault seems willing to risk his cabinet position on this issue. He appears to realize, with officials of the American military government, that the political and economic life of Trizonia can no longer be left to drift. Though heads are shaking over the possibilities thus being opened for propaganda-minded Communists or nationalistic Germans, the die is cast and the resources of Western Ger-

many must soon be hitched more fully to a general program for the rehabilitation of all Western Europe. Reason is at last gaining ascendancy over fear.

Playing into the hands of secularism

The Freethinkers' suit to stop the released-time program for religious instruction in New York State is getting a lot of comfort and aid from a number of Jewish and public-school groups. These, while dissociating themselves from Joseph Lewis, president of the Freethinkers—whose "sole motive in bringing the suit was to further his anti-religious propaganda"—are nevertheless effectively promoting the total secularization of education by court action. Their mistaken idea of "the great American principle of the eternal separation of Church and State" leads as irrevocably to rank secularism as does Joseph Lewis' anti-religious philosophy. Public schools are supposed to be concerned with the training of youth so they will become good citizens. Their cooperation with civic and religious groups to bring religion to bear on this training is a legitimate and important aspect of this concern; and it is in no way unconstitutional on grounds of the first Amendment, but simply on grounds of the secularist philosophy which the Supreme Court has made its own. The groups who are abetting the cause of the Freethinkers should read and ponder carefully the whole Supreme Court document in the Champaign case, not merely Justice Black's majority and prevailing opinion. They should especially weigh Justice Reed's lawyer-like exposition of the true meaning of the First Amendment. His conclusion was: "I find it difficult to extract from the opinions any conclusion as to what it is in the Champaign case that is unconstitutional." Even more difficult is it to find reasons on constitutional grounds for banning New York's plan of released-time religious instruction off public-school premises.

Ups and downs in France

Things are moving pretty fast on the French political stage. Though the bread ration has been increased from 200 to 250 grams a month, and production of coal and steel seems on a higher level than ever before, and Paris gave a truly royal welcome to Princess Elizabeth of England, there are signs of a growing uneasiness among the members of the Government. M. Schuman's attitude on the schools of St. Etienne (*AMERICA*, May 29) has caused great resentment in Catholic circles, divided the Socialists from the MRP, and almost broken the Third Force coalition. The apparent yielding of Bidault,

foreign-affairs secretary, on the German situation at the six-Power London talks has gone down badly with both Communists and de Gaullists; with the former on account of their opposition to the Marshall Plan; with the latter, for fear of a loss of national prestige. A third cause of unrest comes from within the Government. Premier Schuman is seeking to reduce the number of civil-service employees by 150,000, in accordance with the Mayer Plan (*AMERICA*, May 22). The Communists, who were favoring such measures a few months ago, have now voted against them, in order not to displease their future electors. M. Schuman's proposal was carried by the substantial majority of 402 votes to 183 (all communist). In a few days, the two major groups (Socialists and MRP) which have been split on the education problem may be asked by President Schuman to reconsider their positions. If the Socialists remain intransigent, the de Gaullists may be able to provoke a cabinet crisis, and thus pave the way for the dissolution of the Assembly previously asked for by de Gaulle. But this outcome may seem less probable if one considers how much the approach of the holiday season stops great decisions in France.

Draft bill and civil rights

As the draft bill winds its weary way through the legislative process, it finds itself becoming entangled with the civil-rights program. Neither national security nor the rights of minorities will, we fear, benefit from the encounter. The process of the involvement was about as follows. In his February 2 civil-rights message to Congress President Truman said: "I have instructed the Secretary of Defense to take steps to have the remaining instances of discrimination in the armed forces eliminated as rapidly as possible." This was bad news for those who seem to think that the Southern pattern of segregation is the "American" pattern for treating minorities, and that the absence of segregation laws elsewhere is a kind of aberration. In effect it meant that the U. S. Army was going to do what sensible armies have always done—use its fighting men where and in what capacity they can best serve. On May 11, when the bill was before the Senate Armed Service Committee, Senator Russell of Georgia proposed an amendment—which was voted down—making it mandatory that draftees be assigned, on their own request, to units of their own race. This amendment would have enabled race bigots to fasten their pattern of bigotry on the whole armed forces of the United States. It is in the cards that the issue will come up again on the floor of the Senate. Senator Langer of North Dakota loosed a counter-blast on May 26 in the shape of an amendment to eliminate segregation in the drafting, assigning and transportation of military personnel and to apply to them the principles of anti-lynching legislation. It would appear, however, that Senator Langer—currently listed as a speaker for the Wallace "March on Washington" against the Mundt bill—is less concerned with promoting civil rights than with beating the draft. Those who are seriously interested in seeing America strong and democratic will get cold comfort from the political stratagems of Messrs. Russell and Langer.

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English Catholic employers unite

This week a group of employers will meet at Westminster Cathedral Hall in London to form an association of Catholic employers. The initiative for this movement belongs to Cardinal Griffin, who asked the pastors of his archdiocese, a month or so ago, to call meetings of the employers in their parishes for the purpose of electing delegates to the Westminster convention. Just how the projected organization will fit into the existing scheme of things is not clear, although it seems likely that the example of Westminster will be imitated by other dioceses of Great Britain and lead eventually to a national organization. The situation is complicated somewhat by the existence of the ten-year-old Catholic Industrialists Conference, which is affiliated with the Catholic Social Guild at Oxford, and with the International Federation of Catholic Employers. But if the organizational outline is obscure at the moment, there is no misunderstanding about the purpose the Cardinal has in mind. His Eminence wants Catholic employers to know and practise the social teachings of the Church and to make them known to others. As the Papacy has been pointing out for more than half a century, there can be no hope for social reform along Christian lines unless Catholic workers and employers become apostles to their non-Catholic friends and associates. In English-speaking countries, Catholic employers, generally speaking, are so ignorant of the social teachings of their Church that, far from being apostles to non-Catholics in management, they are content to ape the prevalent attitudes of their class. Cardinal Griffin's initiative may help to change this deplorable situation.

Parish sociology

Pastoral Sociology would be an accurate, if academic, description of the agenda of the Sixty-Third National Congress of Catholic Activities of France, which met at Lille, March 30-April 2. Concerned with the pressing need of rooting the Kingdom of God in the Temporal City, three Cardinals and 2,000 delegates recognized that modern society is becoming more and more complex, that the manifold factors—economic, geographical, psychological, political—that give the community its particular characteristics must be closely studied. Traditionally, for instance, the parish is the center of all the interests and activities of the people of the neighborhood. Can such be claimed for our industrial areas, huge sprawling dormitories of urban civilization? Will not the center of apostolic activity for the laity in such places be offices and factories and schools, probably miles distant from the geographical area that surrounds their local church? And what of the distinctive roles of priest and lay apostle in shaping this complex society to Christian ends? Manifestly, the priest is the minister of the Eucharist, the teacher of the living faith and the father of his people, guiding them in their apostolic endeavors. There are areas of activity which more properly belong to the laity, that in the process of history have become by default the province of the clergy. Would priest-professors of secular subjects and priest-workmen in factories be modern in-

stances of the clergy's performing a function of the laity? Future study of the doctrine of the priesthood of the people, clarified indirectly by the new encyclical on the liturgy, *Mediator Dei*, will aid our thinking on the subject and increase immeasurably the sense of apostolic obligation in the faithful. The Church in France, confronted by the disastrous effects of a secularism which is just beginning to alarm religious forces in America, chooses to study the situation comprehensively, soberly, prayerfully. Significantly, the Congress reported conclusions rather than passed resolutions.

"Go west if you want to vote"

Thus does Anne O'Hare McCormick of the New York *Times* report a Czech as speaking to an American newspaperman. It was ample commentary on what happened in Czechoslovakia last Sunday. There was no voting. True, the press talked about "the election" as if it really existed; and there were places where you could take a printed list of names and put it in a box; and some six million people did take lists and put them in boxes. The Soviets, you must realize, are most meticulous about the obsequies of a deceased democracy; like a very conscientious undertaker they mask the harsh reality in flowers and silks and lights. But the odor of death hung over Prague last Sunday; and in the night shadows men and women fled over the borders, westward, away from the foul corruption that had invaded their homeland. Its obscene breath is heavy over Eastern Europe; and it even seeps into our West. It is a demon that will not be easily exorcized. Not tomorrow or next week or next year shall we be rid of it. Our work is one of long patience, of unshakable tenacity in holding to principle, of building a West internally united and externally strong. We must not lose this West, where men can vote and men can hope.

Social justice and the big farm

Consistently, representatives of Joseph Di Giorgio—whose 12,000 acre ranch in Kern County, California, has been struck for eight months—make the assertion: "There is no strike. There are no issues." That viewpoint is well established among the big California growers. They do not want labor organization, and will bend all their efforts to impede it—at least so actions indicate. Actually the rationalizing of the California farm labor picture would call for more stability, better labor organization, collective bargaining—and the living and working conditions that should flow from these. Such a development is the logical social answer to the big farm, financed by absentee owners, many of whom own California land. They crowd out or buy up the small farmers, the family owner-operators. With ready supplies of capital for industrialized expansion in the fertile valleys, they are in a position to progressively eliminate small competitors. Yet they like to be thought of as just so many "farmers," even though their methods have little in common with the man tilling several hundred acres, aided by his family and possibly several hired hands. And as these large-scale operations go on from year to year, with varying

success, depending on weather, markets and costs, a pattern is being set. It is a pattern which discourages small and medium holdings, makes community stability difficult, institutionalizes the migrant and proletarian class. In short, it creates a huge industrial agriculture that is supposed to be efficient, but in reality is capitalizing on social conditions that will cost the United States considerable money in the years ahead. When California farm labor tries to organize, therefore; when the workers object to needless unemployment and unsatisfactory living and working conditions, it is all part of a picture. The "dispossessed" are but trying to regain some of the security they have lost in the course of industrialization. They do not want to be the victims of the abuses the process has occasioned. So, despite the growers' disclaimer, there are big issues behind the Di Giorgio strike. And we have mentioned but a few of them.

Hungary's silent protest

Ten years ago Pope Pius XII, then Cardinal Pacelli, presided as papal legate at the International Eucharistic Congress in Budapest. The grim shadow of Hitler, who banned Germany's pilgrims from attendance at the Congress, then lay over Catholic Hungary (Cf. AMERICA, June 25, 1938). Today the communist-dominated regime outdoes Hitler in its fanatical agitation against the Church, particularly in the field of education. The Supreme Pontiff took the occasion of the anniversary to address an appeal, on May 30, to Hungarian Catholics to hold fast to their faith and Christian virtues, thus assuring themselves victory over cunning and deception. Deprived of adequate means of expression, Hungary's great Catholic majority are making their protest against communist deceit in one of the most effective ways possible: by an outpouring of religious fervor in the practice of their religion. The month of May saw Our Lady honored with well-nigh unprecedented fervor. Vast crowds of country-folk poured from the mountains to the pilgrimage shrine of Marianostra, at Gyula, near the Rumanian border, to meet heroic Cardinal Mindszenty and other prelates at the annual May festivities. Personal letters from Hungary that have been brought to our attention by Hungarian friends in this country, state that the numbers of Holy Communions have reached stupefying proportions. In the Jesuit Church in Budapest 160,000 Communions were reported as received on Easter Sunday; and nuns were said to be toiling at the task of merely preparing altar-breads from sacks of flour placed at their disposal. In the meanwhile, it is comforting to know that copious relief supplies sent to Hungary by War Relief Services, NCWC, are reported by their administrator, Father Fabian Flynn, C.P., as arriving safely at their destination.

Pox on both houses

If a man's faith in collective bargaining is weak, let him sedulously avoid the coal industry. Here are a group of men who have been dealing with one another for years, who have had full experience of all phases of labor-management bargaining, and who nevertheless manage to make a greater failure of industrial relations than almost

any other group in the country. Although this Review has been sharply critical these past few years of John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, we have never considered that the fault lay all on one side. To cite a recent case, the stupid dispute over pensions, we went against the current of editorial opinion by insisting that the operators, by their policy of pure negation, were far from blameless, a position fully substantiated by the testimony of the two public members of the pension fund, Thomas E. Murray and Senator Bridges. Now Mr. Lewis and the operators are in the courts again, this time over a representation question. Mr. Lewis refuses to deal with the Southern operators as a group—not, it must be confessed, without some justification—and has thus exposed himself to an unfair labor practice charge under the Taft-Hartley Act, which forbids unions to coerce employers in the choice of representatives for collective bargaining. Only a few years ago, Mr. Lewis was demanding that the Southern operators be represented in the negotiations and accept the same terms agreed on by the Northern operators. The latter, who want an industry-wide agreement as insurance against unfair Southern competition, especially for the New England market, naturally objected to Mr. Lewis' divide-and-conquer policy. And so the question ends up in the courts, which is the last place it ought to be. An amusing sidelight on all this is the Government's use of the very clause in the Taft-Hartley Act which was meant to discourage industry-wide collective bargaining to impose the same on the Mine Workers! All of which, no matter how you add it up, comes to a glorious mess.

The Pope on social reform

In a ringing address on June 2, the feast of his patron, St. Eugene, Pope Pius XII made plain that there can be no relaxing in the face of the present crisis. "These should not be days of empty and idle interruption, but of useful work, work of rescue, constructive work which will give substance and form to the glorious hopes inspired by victory." The Pope laid great stress on the urgent need of social reform, but warned against fantastic hopes, and emphasized the complexity of the present task. Today, he observed, it is not a question merely of equitable distribution of earthly goods. The enormous destruction resulting from the war shows that "every social reform is strictly bound up with the question of a prudent organization of production"—a matter that affects every element of the social economy, persons, nations and resources. For it is clear that "there can never be sufficient distribution where there is not sufficient production." The Pope's emphasis on this point is in line with other of his recent utterances, and with the practical realities now faced by the various governments of Western Europe. It opens up a wide perspective for future papal social teachings. Social reform, the Pope added, calls for a spirit of renunciation and sacrifice. He recognizes the evils that have befallen post-war Europe from the spirit of selfishness and adherence to privilege. And he desires that Catholics shall give the world "a shining example of unity and cohesion, without distinction of language, nationality or race."

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Washington Front

The well-known cartoonist of the *Washington Post*, Herblock, recently pictured Congress like a whirling top with a great butcher's knife in hand, placed in a circle of eight lay figures, each with its head neatly chopped off and in the air. The cartoon was entitled "Whirlwind Finish," and the eight figures were minimum wage, civil rights, inflation control, atomic energy, social security, housing, education and health.

As a news picture the cartoon was probably a little premature; yet, if there had been room, other figures might have been added to the prospective casualties, such as home rule for the District of Columbia. The picture did serve, however, to create a symbol of the congressional session drawing to a close. The symbol might also be taken for what the Congress thinks the country wants. Four years ago, and eight years ago, Congress would never have dreamed of going before the country without some social-welfare legislation that could be chalked up to its credit.

Roosevelt had set the pattern of vote-getting since 1932. That pattern rested on the assumption that the lower-income people are the ones who have by far the largest number of votes. There is considerable evidence that President Truman harbors the same idea—witness his

civil-rights program and other humanity-serving proposals. But, as things stand, Henry Wallace is the only candidate who can be said to be working the old Roosevelt political formula, and it begins to look as if he will take with him in November just the number of lower-income votes the Democrats need to win.

If that happens, and if the Republican candidate wins as a result, he will be a minority President. On the assumption, then, that the Republican majority in Congress has foreseen this and acted accordingly, we have an explanation of its apparent remissness and callousness in regard to social welfare. It may be, of course, that it is just not social-minded. Period. But it is vote-minded in this Presidential year, and in the past social-mindedness has been a magic formula for winning a large number of votes.

The obvious conclusion, then, is that Congress has neglected a lot of needed legislation, not because it is procrastinating or tied up in its own red tape, but simply because it does not consider the matter a political necessity. The Republicans can win without making any appeal at all to the lower-income groups. Henry Wallace will take care of that.

The whole situation is a curious commentary on our political mores. One does not have to be cynical to see that social welfare and the individual politician's welfare do not necessarily coincide. It is fine when they do, but they do only when unpredictable circumstances bring that to pass.

WILFRID PARSONS

Underscorings

The Holy Father has appointed the Rt. Rev. Msgr. James T. O'Dowd, superintendent of schools of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, to be Titular Bishop of Cea and Auxiliary to Archbishop John J. Mitty of San Francisco, and Rev. Russell J. McVinney, rector of the seminary of Our Lady of Providence at Warwick Neck, R. I., to be Bishop of Providence.

► Just off the America Press is a 96-page study of the Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education. It has for title, *Whither American Education?* Ten different writers contributed the eleven chapters of the study: Dr. Francis M. Crowley of Fordham University; Rev. John A. Elbert, S.M., formerly president of the University of Dayton and recently named Provincial of the Marianists' Cincinnati Province; Rev. Allan P. Farrell, S.J., education editor of AMERICA and editor of the pamphlet; Dr. Martin R. P. McGuire of Catholic University; Rev. William E. McManus, assistant director of the NCWC Department of Education; Rev. Wilfred M. Mallon, S.J., director of Jesuit schools of the Missouri Province; Sister Mary Peter, O.P., president of Rosary College, River Forest, Ill.; Rev. Cyril F. Meyer, C.M., dean of the college, St. John's University, Brooklyn;

Mother Eleanor M. O'Byrne, president of Manhattanville College, New York; Rev. Paul C. Reinert, S.J., dean of the college, St. Louis University.

► Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt, director of the NCWC Department of Education, who introduces *Whither American Education?* to the public, recalls that its genesis was a meeting of Catholic educators called in mid-February by the National Catholic Educational Association. "This series of essays," he adds, "draws together the central problems and proposals of the Report, noting their implications for higher learning. The booklet in your hands furnishes a unity and coherence not found in the original . . . [its] appeal will not be limited to the professional educator or administrator. Parents and taxpayers generally will want to know how this NCEA committee felt about the Report of the President's Commission; they will want to know if sound educational practice under religious auspices will be able to keep the large place that it has made in the affections of the nation."

► Two summer institutes for lay Catholics are deserving of full enrollments: the ten-week institute at Grailville, Loveland, Ohio, on "Woman's Task in the Modern World," from June 15 to September 1, and the four week-long institutes on "The Life and Function of the Layman in the Church" at the Center for Men of Christ the King, Herman, Pa. The weeks to be held at Herman, Pa. are from June 14-20; July 5-11; July 26-August 1; August 16-22.

A.P.F.

Editorials

Unbalanced budget

Economists differ on whether the Federal budget should be balanced during a depression. But no economist of any persuasion defends, except during war, an unbalanced budget in boom times. Yet, if we are to believe Senator Byrd, the Republican-controlled 80th Congress, with help from some sympathetic Democrats, has given an inflation-beleaguered country an inflationary unbalanced budget for fiscal 1949.

Addressing the Senate on May 19, the Senator from Virginia estimated expenditures for the fiscal year beginning July 1 at \$43.8 billion. He pointed out that the Treasury, after allowing for the recent tax cut, estimates revenues at \$40 billion, and that the Joint Congressional Committee on Internal Revenue adds \$2.6 billion to this figure. Even if the latter estimate be accepted, the deficit for fiscal 1949 will be \$1.2 billion. In fiscal 1950, Senator Byrd continued, expenditures will increase to \$47.55 billion and to \$49.3 billion in 1951. Stressing that these estimates are ultra-conservative—they include nothing for UMT, nothing for a wage increase to Federal employees, nothing for suggested military lend-lease to Europe—the man who has been called the watch-dog of the Treasury guessed that, under present tax rates, the deficit for fiscal 1950 would be \$7 or \$8 billion, and might approximate \$10 billion in 1951.

The explanation of this sudden and disastrous change from the healthy surplus in fiscal 1948 to a deficit in 1949 lies, on the one hand, in the determination of the Republican Party to reduce taxes this year come hell or high water, and, on the other hand, to a dismal failure to cut the President's budget in any significant way. The Republican policy-makers, by way of justifying the tax cut, solemnly resolved to hack \$2.5 billion out of Mr. Truman's budget for fiscal 1949. With from two-thirds to three-fourths of the appropriations completed, as of May 19, the Republicans have succeeded in saving the country \$338 million, and Senator Reed, of Kansas, has conceded that the ultimate saving cannot possibly amount to more than \$400 million.

About the only thing that can be said in extenuation of this irresponsibility is that the Republicans had the good sense this time to abandon the misleading and dishonest expedient which they adopted toward the budget last year. In his budget for fiscal 1948, President Truman inserted an item of \$800 million for refunding excess taxes. The Republicans removed this expenditure and then claimed before the country that they had effected an "economy." At the time, Senator O'Mahoney stigmatized this claim as fraudulent and pointed out that, far from saving the country anything, the Republican had risked adding to expenses. If Congress did not appropriate

money for these tax refunds before the end of the year, the Treasury would be obliged to pay claimants six per cent interest on what was rightfully due them. The Republicans had the votes, the "cut" was made, but Senator O'Mahoney had the last laugh. Three months ago, the Congress restored \$500 million of the "saving," and on April 26 the Senate approved a deficiency appropriation of \$568 million for the same purpose. Commented the Senator from Wyoming:

Thus the postponement of the payment of our \$800-million obligation which we decreed last year served no purpose except to allow certain Members to claim that they had reduced government spending.

No one dared that day in the Senate to challenge this judgment.

In general, the record of the 80th Congress on domestic legislation is bad, but nowhere quite so bad as on fiscal policy. What a strange performance by a party which is popularly associated with economic conservatism and takes great credit for its financial orthodoxy!

Taps, 1948

Taps sounded over American graves this Memorial Day, a refrain of requiem that was relayed from bugle to bugle in a continuity that only the sun could encompass. Hours before President Truman spoke at Arlington National Cemetery, commemorative services were held in Alaska. Hour by hour at Anzio, in Africa, in Burma, in New Zealand, on Pacific Islands whose names became meaningful only a few years ago, groups of Americans listened quietly to an address, stood at attention while the plaintive bugle notes died away and went thoughtfully home.

Memorial Day, 1948 was a new experience for Americans. The gatherings on the New England village green, the crowd around the steps of the courthouse in the Midwest county seat were joined by groups on every continent, because America's dead are scattered around the world. Their broken bodies were barriers on distant shores to the spread of militant barbarism, the precious price of America's inescapable involvement in the world community, bitter proof that our national responsibility is international in extent.

Dedicating a Court of Honor in Memorial Plaza, St. Louis, the Most Reverend Leo J. Steck, auxiliary Bishop of Salt Lake City, declared: "The message of this court is to the living, not to the dead." The message is that America is part of the world and suffers in blood when it forgets it. Aggression on a distant continent may be an annoying radio interruption to a Kansas wheat farmer anxiously watching the grain market. Systematic denial of basic human rights may seem "more of that

trouble in Europe" to the machinist in Bridgeport thinking of a new car. The California fruit-grower may shrug off reports of the exploitation of colonial peoples with talk of his own immediate concerns. Memorial Day is an annual reminder to every living American that what happens in any corner of the world concerns him crucially.

It not only affects him inevitably; he shares inescapably with every other American a responsibility for securing and maintaining world peace. The Army Chief of Staff asserted on Memorial Day: "Wars can be prevented just as surely as they are provoked and therefore we who fail to prevent them must share in the guilt for the dead." General Bradley warned further: "If we cringe from the necessity of meeting issues boldly with principle, resolution and strength, then we shall simply hurdle along from crisis to crisis, improvising with expedients."

Where Poland stands

Much has been written about the tragic plight of the Polish people, now under the rule of Soviet totalitarians. Especially well known are the courageous efforts of the Catholic Church and its leaders to maintain resistance against the encroaching Marxist forces from the East. Only a fortnight ago, the Polish Catholic hierarchy, in a joint pastoral letter, called upon its flock to repudiate the "materialistic point of view" as ruinous to the country's welfare. Observing this struggle to maintain the primacy of the spiritual in human affairs, Catholics the world over are behind the Church of Poland in its daring stand against communism.

But at this precise moment of history, when Soviet Russia marshals her destructive forces to split the West, the Poles are indulging in a dangerous game of power politics. Concretely, the order of the day for Poles in their Soviet-ridden land, as well as for some among us, calls for propaganda in favor of a "greater Poland"—with pre-1939 borders on the East, plus the Oder-Neisse line as the boundary in the West!

Up to now the Polish Church has kept silent on the matter of frontiers. But, at the end of May, *Tygodnik Warszawski*, said to reflect the views of Cardinal Hlond, came out in support of the new western borders and approved the mass expulsion of some 12 million Germans. We would like to think there is some mistake.

Polish claims on the former German territories, which the Russians gave to their Warsaw puppets, are reported to be justified by the Warsaw Catholic weekly on four grounds: 1) that it is "historical justice" for Poland to occupy the lands up to the Oder-Neisse rivers; 2) that these lands are compensation for the White Russian, Lithuanian and other eastern territories lost to the Soviet Union; 3) that possession of them by Poland will guarantee the world's security; 4) that this expansion removes a source of German aggression.

These claims were echoed by American Poles in the convention of the Polish-American Congress over the Decoration Day weekend in Philadelphia. The Congress called upon the UN to restore the bitterly contested lands that were part of Eastern Poland up to 1939. At the same

time, they overwhelmingly endorsed the annexation of the German lands.

Most Americans sympathize wholeheartedly with the suffering Polish people. But what are we to think when we see their leaders—blinded by a shortsighted and selfish nationalism—speculate in the misery of other peoples, in order to build up a big state, based on historically contestable pretensions?

Significantly, even Stanislaw Mikolajczyk—whose presence at the Polish-American Congress convention was bitterly opposed by a faction of Polish ultra-nationalists—did not dissent a whit from the chorus as it repudiated any revision of the present Polish boundary with Germany. Americans have been more than generous to the former Polish Premier after his dramatic escape from Warsaw. Many of us must now, of necessity, be somewhat embarrassed by his rather ill-timed association with the Polish ultra-nationalists.

These latter are conveniently used by master minds in the Kremlin with the express purpose of dividing political forces of the West. This last war started with resistance to aggression against Poland. In the final settlement, when it comes, the strife must not end with a "new Poland" swallowing up the lands of defenseless neighbors.

Objections to the Mundt bill

In the present congressional log-jam, the life expectancy of the Mundt bill is not very high. Nevertheless, the matter is important enough, and enough people are perturbed about it, to warrant some consideration of the chief objections raised against the bill.

1. *The bill outlaws political parties.* The bill does not, in fact, outlaw any party. It compels branches of the Communist Party, as well as communist-front organizations, to register with the Attorney General and to identify their propaganda plainly with the communist label. It makes membership in the Party or front organizations illegal only if these have refused to obey the Attorney General's order to register.

2. *The bill endangers freedom of speech and association.* Under this head it is argued that liberal groups might find themselves required to register as communist-front organizations because their views on war with Russia, UMT, etc., happened to coincide with the current Party line. This is the argument on which the Communists and the Wallaceites become most hysterical. The fact is that the bill mentions four criteria for a communist-front organization: its directing personnel; the source of its funds; the use of its funds and personnel; its policies. If "some or all" of these indicate that it is "under the control of" or is "primarily operated" in the interests of the Communist Party; or that its views and policies are adopted because they are the views and policies of the Communists; then the organization will be regarded as a communist front. It is hardly conceivable that mere coincidence of views would be held to constitute the "preponderance of evidence" which, as we shall see in the next section, the Attorney General is required to have before he affixes the communist-front label.

3. The bill gives the Attorney General too much power.

Before he decides that an organization is communist or communist-front, the Attorney General must grant a public hearing, with the right to present evidence and to cross-examine. His finding is reviewable by the U.S. District Court and the Supreme Court. It is required to be "supported by the preponderance of the evidence." This is a change from the usual formula in such cases, that the finding be supported by "substantial evidence." It makes the court the judge not merely of the existence of evidence, but also of its value. This is a safeguard against arbitrary action by the Attorney General. However, it would perhaps have been better to have specified hearings before an impartial board, rather than before the Attorney General.

An objection raised by *Counterattack*, weekly publication of American Business Consultants, Inc., has real merit. Activities aimed at establishing a communist totalitarian state here are punishable by a \$10,000 fine, ten years in jail, and loss of citizenship, and are not subject to the statute of limitations. Juries are reluctant to convict where loss of citizenship is the penalty; and there is no inducement for a Communist to leave the party if he can be punished twenty years hence for his activities in it now.

The Mundt bill is not—and does not profess to be—an "answer" to communism. Its aim is narrow, specific and immediate: to meet the political attack directed against the United States by Soviet Russia through the Communist Party. The full answer to communism is indeed a long-range reform of our moral, social and political life. But the immediate and urgent task is to stop the use by Russia of American nationals to undermine American plans for world recovery. That cannot wait.

South African elections

Every corner of the British Commonwealth of Nations was shocked to hear that on May 29 Field Marshal Jan Christiaan Smuts, godfather to the British Commonwealth itself and world-renowned international statesman, had lost his seat in the South African Parliament. On the following day, the 78-year-old Field Marshal handed in his resignation as Prime Minister of South Africa to the Union's Governor-General, and retired to his country estate at Irene. Dr. Daniel François Malan, Smuts' successor, is known for his bitter anti-British utterances. Though he will govern with but a shaky majority, he will have associated with him a group of Afrikaner Nationalist extremists, some of them nazi-minded fanatics committed to a rigid policy of white supremacy.

When Britain's royal couple, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, paid their memorable visit to South Africa from February to April, 1947, the King conferred the Order of Merit upon Field Marshal Smuts, who pronounced in return, on behalf of the South African peoples, a glowing tribute of welcome and loyalty. But all the Nationalist Senators, and all but eleven of the Nationalist M.P.'s, including Dr. Malan, absented themselves from the occasion.

The sensational upset is ascribed in part to the natural "swing of the pendulum," in the postwar world. As the prospect of "another Argentina" looms in the eastern half of the southern hemisphere, certain parallels may be found in the events of the two countries, since in either instance we see a revolt of strong agrarian traditions, in a newly developed territory, opposing the inevitable influx of world industrialists. And in both cases there is a powerful appeal to the economically harassed common man; though in South Africa—as contrasted with Argentina—the "common man" is the member of a privileged racial minority.

The ex-Premier himself seems to realize this, for on June 1, announcing his intention of returning to political life, he said:

If there is blame for the present failure let it be mine. . . . I can take it and I look forward with confidence to the eventual completion of the task for which fifty years have been an all too short period.

It was not time that was lacking, we fear, so much as the high vision of an Africa in which the men and women of the Dark Continent would no longer be step-children in their own motherland.

The Field Marshal's program was magnificent and liberal on the international plane; it was full of high-sounding sentiments with regard to the domestic scene. But it apparently failed to recognize, as some of our own legislators fail to recognize, how sore electors can become if they are tormented with black bread, meat shortages, a housing crisis and the ever-rising cost of living, or to what political extremes—Right or Left makes little difference to excited feelings—such resentment can drive people. The King himself seems to have deeply sensed this danger for, in his address to the Dominion Legislature at Cape Town and on other occasions, he stressed the importance of different types of social legislation, and dwelt upon the burden that shortages of various kinds imposed on the people.

A more energetic policy in these economic matters would have strengthened the Smuts policies at home, a firmer and more consistently forthright program of racial equality and civic freedoms would have provided for Commonwealth-minded South Africa a stronger support in the world at large, where the Union lost many good friends because of its internal policies.

As in every other instance when extremists gain the upper hand, the net gain will fall to world communism. Nothing suits the Cominform's interest more than another center of anti-British agitation; nothing fits its schemes more readily than terror and turmoil among the native peoples of tropical Africa, who will see the new Government stretching out to incorporate more colonial territory under its prospective totalitarian rule. Forced native labor, particularly in the exploitation of gold mines, is a precious asset to any government. But it is an asset chargeable to the peace and security of the rest of humanity. It is not pleasant to think of the "Beloved Country," a land so richly endowed by God and man, becoming a future trouble area of the world.

Stalin's "Divide and conquer"

Walter Dushnyck

Walter Dushnyck is the author of the forthcoming pamphlet, Death and Devastation on the Curzon Line, an account of the mass deportations of Ukrainians by Soviet and Polish police, and co-author, with Father William J. Gibbons, S.J., of A Decade of Soviet Foreign Policy.

Much fanfare accompanied the "peace offensive" recently unleashed by Soviet Russia. But the salvos fell flat, as observers who are experienced in Stalinist wiles quickly exposed the underlying strategy. Accordingly, the offensive was properly counteracted by the United States and Great Britain.

It has been possible to detect a variety of motives that could have led the calculating mind of the Russian dictator to let loose his "dove of peace" at this precise moment. Considered predictions were made some time ago that Soviet strategy would look for a period of "softening," during which gestures of reconciliation and cooperation might be made. Such a move was needed both for domestic consumption and for propaganda abroad. Those who know Stalinism agree, however, that the ultimate goal of the Soviet state—the conquest of the world—has not changed a whit.

At home, the Soviet unilateral announcement about Stalin's willingness "to come at once to a workable relationship with the United States," was hailed as a great diplomatic achievement of the wise and all-knowing leader. Molotov's breach of diplomatic ethics in disclosing the U.S. note was overlooked. Instead, the incident was interpreted to mean that the Soviet Union is willing to "talk peace," while the United States remains reluctant to do so. Accordingly, nervous tension is again mounting in Western Europe and Asia, while the Soviet-generated confusion of the moment is reminiscent of the unsettled times between Munich and the actual outbreak of World War II in 1939.

The strategic moment in Stalin's attempted Machiavellian coup coincided with redoubled activities by our domestic apologists of Soviet tyranny. This was to be expected. As in the past, the latest move is part of a well-devised and brilliantly executed plan of the Kremlin.

Despite Stalin's talk of peace, the free world is seriously threatened as never before. Concerning this we must not be deceived. We cannot expect to rest on our laurels and to take pride in well-tested democratic traditions, in our superior economic system and our clearer concept of human rights. The ceaseless barrage of lies emanating from the Kremlin should call forth redoubled effort on our part. We cannot escape the duty of fighting Soviet half-truths with living truth, and the underlying materialistic philosophy with firm convictions about the value of freedom and the inalienable rights of the individual. What is more, the picture of society we present to the world must be integrated and adapted to the times. The deepest challenge of the Soviets is for us to reconstruct the social order along truly Christian and progressive lines.

A major tactic in our counter-offensive is complete discrediting of Soviet pretensions. It is necessary to drive

home the actual intention of the Soviet state with respect to the rest of the world—namely, complete domination. To help us to an understanding of our task, we have an extensive literature which ranges from Stalin's own *Problems of Leninism* through numerous political agreements and pacts, to the accounts of disillusioned Soviet admirers, among whom are Eugene Lyons, Arthur Koestler, Frieda Utley, André Gide—to speak only of the more prominent. Then we have the eloquent record of the acts and manifestations of the Russians themselves. Only a few days ago the State Department gave thirty-seven specific instances of Russian disregard of pacts concerning Germany, Austria, Eastern and Southern Europe, Korea and Manchuria.

Mr. Stalin's suggestion for bilateral talks and his language of conciliation must of necessity be examined in the light of previous, similarly conciliatory and solemn statements. Above all, we should examine the implementation of earlier promises made by the Soviet state. Let us see the Soviet record on some of the points they speak of so glibly.

1. *Reduction of armaments.* It was the intransigence of the Soviet Union that ruined the Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations. The commission suspended activity just a few days before Stalin's "peace proposals." Of all countries in the world, Soviet Russia has the largest army, estimated at 3,000,000 to 5,000,000, equipped with modern weapons. In addition, some 10,000,000 to 15,000,000 slave laborers are working, under strict supervision of the MVD, in the vast reaches of the Urals and Siberia, the new seats of Soviet war industries. If Stalin sincerely wants peace, he knows what to do.

2. *Peace treaties with Germany and Japan.* All efforts on the part of the United States, Great Britain and France to conclude speedy peace treaties with Germany were torpedoed by Soviet Russia. In flagrant violation of the Potsdam Agreement, the Soviets frustrated any and all steps toward economic unification of the country. They are, indeed, for German "unity," but only under the sign of the hammer and sickle.

In Japan, a communist party has taken root for the first time in Japanese history. If the Soviets seem to be less successful in that country, it is because an able American administrator has forestalled their sinister attempts to sovietize the land.

3. *Korea and China.* Stalin, together with the United States, gave solemn pledges to restore the independence of Korea. Yet in that very country the Russians have used every device to make a peaceful settlement impossible. They have openly defied the UN decision. They keep their zone rigidly isolated from the outside world. At the same time, they have transformed the country into a thoroughly sovietized regime, with the characteristics of

the Soviet State itself: a one-party system, economic exploitation, suppression of civil and human rights, rigid police control and terrorization of the populace, communist-inspired militarization, etc. His work done, Stalin is ready for the withdrawal of troops.

In China, communist armies, armed and led by Soviet "experts," gain more and more territory every day. Stalin already controls rich and strategic Manchuria. No mention whatsoever is made by him of any real effort for peace in that part of the globe.

4. *Military bases in UN member countries.* In making this point, Stalin apparently intended to embarrass us because of the presence of the American garrison troops in China, the Philippines, Iceland, Greenland and elsewhere. He neglected to mention, as our State Department later pointed out, that the United States has agreements with these countries. It is a safe prediction that were our troops once out of these places, Soviet forces would quietly move in and render them as docile as they did the non-Russian countries now behind the iron curtain.

5. *Respect for the sovereignty of other nations.* In this connection, it is opportune to recall what Soviet Russia has done to her neighbor states. Ever since the creation of the Soviet Union, its leaders—from Lenin through Trotsky to Stalin—have by direct and indirect aggression extended their boundaries to points only dreamed of by Russia's great conquerors of the past. Soon after the Soviets came into power, they conquered Ukraine (1920), Azerbaijan (1920), White Ruthenia (1920), Georgia (1921), and Armenia (1922). All these peoples had been previously recognized by the Soviet Government as free and independent nations.

In 1939 Stalin, with the concurrence and support of Hitler, availed himself of the opportunity to grab half of Poland and Lithuania, as well as Estonia, Latvia, a part of Finland, Bukovina and Bessarabia, the latter two being parts of Rumania. Since 1945, he has extended his totalitarian net to the "new" Poland, to Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Czechoslovakia, the eastern parts of Austria and Germany. In Asia, he controls Manchuria, Northern China, North Korea, Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Only two years ago Stalin ordered the suppression of the autonomous republics of the Crimean Tartars and of the Ingush-Chechins in the Caucasus. Yet he lectures the world on "respect for sovereign and independent nations!" The course of Stalin's march is literally strewn with the corpses of once free and sovereign countries.

6. *International trade.* Stalin knows that if he succeeds in bringing his state trading into the world system, he cannot lose on that front either. Practically all the International Trade Organization nations are hesitant about the results of cooperation with the totalitarian trade system of Soviet Russia. No one expects to win out in doing business with a powerful state which conducts all its own foreign trade. Under such circumstances, tariff and import restrictions work only against foreign competitors. Stalin refused to cooperate with the Geneva trade meeting, and would send no observer to the conference on trade and employment at Havana.

7. *Economic aid for devastated countries.* Stalin's emphasis on economic help for the countries that suffered most from the war cannot be taken seriously in view of the record. His heir apparent, General Zhdanov, has issued an express order to the Cominform to wreck the Marshall Plan, whatever the cost, even at the possible risk of a war with the West. In the immediate postwar period Russia profited handsomely from the American relief policy.

8. *Democracy and civil rights.* Stalin's advocacy of democracy and the application of civil rights everywhere is the most cynical of his proposals. Apparently it was intended for groups discriminated against in the United States and for the world's colonial peoples.

How does this same principle apply to Soviet citizens, or the citizens of countries ridden by Soviet terror east of the Stettin-Trieste line? Are Soviet citizens allowed to emigrate, to marry foreigners, to get uncensored news or movies, to correspond freely with citizens of other countries? Behind the semantic barrage about democracy and civil rights lurks the grim Soviet reality. It embraces a complete denial of human rights—mass deportations and an institutionalized slave-labor system.

Even in his swift move to recognize Palestine, Stalin demonstrated once again his Machiavellian hopes to divide and conquer. The Russians do not expect much

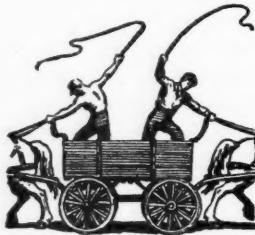
cooperation from the rulers of the Middle East. The Kremlin much prefers the technique of slow, piecemeal conquest, as already applied in Iran. By carefully choosing their moment in the Middle East disputes, the Soviets endeavored to erect a barrier between the United States

and Great Britain, whose close cooperation is essential to the rehabilitation of a free world.

What seems important for us now is to read Stalin's appeal in the light of his past utterances and actions. Louis Fischer, who spent some fourteen years in the Soviet Union, in a penetrating article (*Look*, June 8, 1948) depicts the Soviet dictator as follows:

The key to Stalin's triumph at home and abroad is the alacrity with which he sacrifices persons, principles and truth. Stalin's rules of success are: alliances are made to be broken; friendship has no real meaning; men must be discarded when no longer useful; ideas and words have no existence unless chained to the chariot of power; ends are everything, means don't matter.

Stalin first succeeded in a greater task before Lenin's death. He combined with Zinoviev and Kamenev to oust Trotsky. Later, when Trotsky was expelled, he allied himself with Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky to crush Zinoviev and Kamenev. Subsequently, Stalin executed Bukharin and Rykov, while Tomsky committed suicide before execution. The sinister chief of the GPU, Yagoda, was for years Stalin's most devoted henchman, who arrested, exiled and executed many thousands of people. In 1938 he was charged with plotting with "foreign spies," and was



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himself executed. His successor, Yezhov, who obediently purged and condemned his predecessor, was in turn executed. And so it goes on.

In international affairs, Stalin's methods for satisfying his lust for power remain substantially unchanged. Previous to 1939 he flirted with England and France in order to prevent them from further appeasing Germany. Once they stopped doing so, he swiftly allied himself with Hitler. After the latter attacked Soviet Russia in 1941, Stalin again turned to the Western democracies. After Hitler's Germany was defeated, Stalin found anew that amity and good relations with the United States were superfluous. So he pushed us away.

Such is the record of the Soviet dictator on the basis of the facts provided by himself.

What good could be accomplished if President Truman really took seriously Mr. Stalin's latest and sudden zeal for peace?

Small business and the British budget

Michael P. Fogarty

Michael P. Fogarty, Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford, is a frequent contributor to various European periodicals on the subject of economic planning. This is the second of his articles on recent economic developments in England. Others will follow from time to time.

The budget has come and gone, and the wailing of widows and orphans over the Cripps capital levy has been muted by consciousness that no one with less than £2,000 a year will be touched by it at all. Two thousand pounds is, after all, a good deal of money. The battle over the new tax has been strictly on the level of politics and economics, with the more obviously moral issues left out. Will the levy reduce or increase inflation? How will it affect the flow of savings for the reconstruction program? Will it really be "once and for all"—can even Cripps bind his Party to his promise, once they have tasted blood? These are important questions. But they are also questions on which Catholics are as divided as anyone else. In spite of the right-wing fulminations of the *Tablet*, there is nothing remotely resembling a specifically Catholic view of them.

And yet, at the back of the public argument, the idea is beginning to dawn that there may after all be possibilities here which are both more constructive, and more interesting to Catholics as such, than appeared at first sight. For, whatever else Cripps may have done with his levy, he has at least brought property back into the center of the stage; and property has a certain importance in Catholic social teaching. And it has also—which is why this new trend in economic policy is so important—been one of the less popular subjects with politicians.

In the halcyon days of the early nineteen-hundreds, when wealth was wealth and taxation was a steady five to eight per cent on incomes of anything from £100 to £100,000, the pastime of soaking the rich was started with two main objects in view: to equalize standards of living, and to break class control of industry and society. The second object might perhaps have been helped in the

The Soviet Premier's appeal, moreover, was timed to influence the forthcoming elections in this country. At least so he thought. Political chaos here would make easier his march to power.

The peace offer came at a time calculated to make us waver in our rearmament program, to lull the United States into a sense of false security, just as Hitler did after his Munich victory.

That Stalin feels the need of a period of rest for his empire is quite understandable. A "pacified" United States would give Russia more time for pursuit of atomic weapons. The USSR could proceed with its own rearmament program, with its national rehabilitation and with the consolidation of the satellite states.

The facts, the hard facts, are definitely against Stalin's "good intentions" for international peace. In view of the past, it would be utter folly to relax in our defense program. To do so would invite destruction and our own end.

long run by heavier death duties and other taxation of capital. But in the short run a process which merely forced the executors of one defunct capitalist to sell his securities to another individual exactly like him scarcely seemed to do much to speed the march to socialism. Trade-union action, public regulation or nationalization appeared a good deal more to the point. And, in the days when the wealthy were still innocent enough (as a class) to live within their incomes, taxation of incomes rather than capital seemed the obvious way to equalize standards of life.

In happier times this lack of interest in redistribution might have been checked by a demand for more property for the small man. And experience in the housing boom of the 'thirties showed that the demand was potentially there. But the miner who sank his savings in his cottage the year before the pit closed down, or the clerk who signed his mortgage or hire-purchase agreement in time for the salary cuts of 1931, learned the hard way that under capitalism it pays to travel light. And such experiences were very widespread in the twenty years before the war.

So the redistribution of property tended to be left to one side, and the statistics of distribution in the 'thirties still looked pretty much the same as in 1913. Fifty-five per cent of the nation's property was still owned by one per cent of its adults, and three-quarters of the adult population possessed less than a hundred pounds' worth of goods and savings apiece, including furniture, clothes and everything else. But the redistribution of incomes was a very different matter. The wealthiest seventh of the population in 1937 started with five times the average income per head of the remainder. By the time the tax-

gatherer had finished with them, the ratio had come down to three to one. And the game went merrily on during the war. The *Sunday Times* recently estimated that a professional man with a wife and child and an income of £800 a year is paying about £300 a year in taxes, which is not far off forty per cent. And when it comes to the really high tax brackets, covering incomes of £10,000 a year or more, the proportion rises to nearly nine-tenths—not counting death duties or the new capital levy.

To put it mildly, this state of affairs has disadvantages. The economic textbooks assure the student, quite correctly, that the rich contributed, net, almost nothing to increasing the national capital in the 'thirties. They usually forget to mention that, if the rich added nothing to the national capital, they did at least (in good years) refrain from consuming it. Today, with their real incomes slashed to the bone, and with the Inland Revenue waiting in the graveyard to relieve a man's heirs of anything that Cripps and Dalton may have missed in his lifetime, they are living on capital with a vengeance. That does not help efforts to check inflation. And when more and more middle-class families are forced to do the same, that is bad social policy, even apart from inflation. For, while big property accumulations are best broken down, the middling and small accumulations need to be built up.

The middle class have in fact been squeezed to the limit. A professional worker needs certain conditions—a degree of leisure, money to travel, money to buy books—in order merely to do his job efficiently. The *Economist* recently estimated that at present prices and rates of taxation a man with a wife and one child needs about £1,200 a year to reach the necessary standard. Quite a lot of people, it is true, reach this level. A full professor earns £1,450, and an assistant secretary in the Civil Service starts at £1,320. But it is also true that assistant secretaries and upwards account for only one-eighth of one per cent of all employed in the Civil Service, and for a third even of the highest grade administrative staff. And the universities are staffed with an eye to the fact that, though a professor costs twice as much as a lecturer, he rarely if ever does twice as much work. (The writer, it is only fair to add, is a lecturer.)

There are other disadvantages as well. A good many people are beginning to wonder just where the capital for building up small businesses is to come from in the new dispensation. And the pace of equalization has been far too hot over the last few years. It may be quite reasonable to adjust gradually, and to tell the rising generation that they will never live on the fat of the land like their fathers before them. It is often utterly unreasonable to impose the same cut, over a half-dozen years, on people who have enjoyed a certain standard of living for the whole of their lives. That is precisely what has happened in England.

All this is good academic analysis. But what has really made the difference these last few months is that the worm has turned. The middle class put Labor in three years ago, and Ministers' speeches show an uneasy feeling that two years hence they may be doing the opposite. And Tory propaganda is capitalizing effectively on their

discontents in terms of the familiar poster behind the bar:

No beer, no stout.

You put them in: you put them out!

For beer, read petrol. The ninety miles a month permitted by the new ration looks like adding insult to injury.

So the tune has had to be changed, and the obvious change was to switch attention back from incomes to property. It has been switched in the first place, naturally, to breaking up the big accumulations of property, which in itself is an excellent thing; especially since somewhere around two-thirds of these accumulations are still reckoned to be purely unearned, and acquired by inheritance or marriage.

But what is still better, now that attention has turned back to property, is that interest is beginning to be taken in the other end of the scale as well. Small property needs to be encouraged, for reasons which scarcely need arguing to Catholic readers. And British official policy on these smaller properties has up to now been curiously inconsistent. The Dalton budgets of 1946 and 1947, which reduced or stabilized death duties on estates of up to £15,000, have been followed by the Cripps levy on many of these very same estates. A vigorous National

Savings movement has been combined with the Bevan housing policy, which limits houses for sale to twenty per cent of all built, and forbids a town council to sell a man a municipal house even when he is fully entitled to occupy it on all the ordinary rules of priority. There is,

obviously, no real small property policy at all.

Perhaps it is too optimistic as yet to suppose that this confusion will be straightened out, even though full employment and the controlled distribution of industry have today made property-holding a far safer proposition for the average Labor supporter than ever in the past. But one thing can certainly be said. It was not until the really big incomes had been taxed to the limit that many Left-wingers were willing to take middle-class claims seriously. They had first to see the main enemy down and out; then, and only then, they became psychologically capable of admitting that high incomes of certain kinds might be useful to society. In the same way, it may be that an all-out attack on the biggest property accumulations will release some Ministers' obsessions, and leave them free to look more sanely at the problems of medium and small property. It was a vigorous income redistribution, pushed to the limit, which brought even Left-wingers squarely up against the problem of the middle class. And a vigorous property redistribution policy, pushed to the limit, should at least force Ministers to think of the danger that here also the limit may be pushed too far. The recent White Paper on Personal Incomes, Costs and Prices was the first step towards a rational policy on incomes. Is it too much to hope that similar forces will now, given time, compel this country to equip itself with a rational property policy as well?



The stuff that dreams are made of

Mary Tinley Daly

"What kind of a man did you dream of when you were a little girl, Mom?" asked twelve-year-old Eileen as we were washing dishes the other night.

"Well, let's see," I hesitated. "My notions changed—but I always thought I'd like a tall man. . . ."

"Didn't you want a handsome, intelligent, kind, thoughtful man—like Tyrone Power?"

"Those sound like good qualities," I said, rinsing the last glass. "And is Tyrone Power your idea of such a person?"

"Tyrone's girl thinks so," Eileen said. "She says he's everything she dreamed of when she was a little girl."

"Well, Annabella should know," I said. "She is Tyrone Power's wife, isn't she?"

"Oh, yes, Annabella's his *wife*," said Eileen, "but it's his fiancée that says he's all those things. She's Linda Christian and she's going to marry Tyrone as soon as he gets his divorce from Annabella. They had a blazing romance in Italy last summer. . . ."

I looked at Eileen sternly. "You've been reading movie magazines again," I accused her. "I thought I had forbidden you to read them."

Eileen dropped the glass she was drying.

"Oh, no, I haven't, Mom," she said, sweeping up pieces of glass into the dustpan, "I haven't read a movie mag since you told me not to. Cross my heart. I got this dope from the Sunday paper that you and Daddy read."

Sure enough, in the sedate paper read by the whole family was a movie column out of Hollywood, containing an interview with Tyrone Power's newest conquest, a rising young movie star by the name of Linda Christian.

Any adult would pass over the piece of fluff as silly press-agentry, particularly since the columnist said of Miss Christian—later in the column—that "four major studios are waving fancy contracts before her pretty nose," and went on to tell the names of the pictures in which she has appeared.

To movie-star worshipers like our pre-teen-agers, such a column contains poisonous implications. Writings like this are common in the publicity organs of movie magazines. The romantic slant they give to the succession of mates taken on and cast off by movie heroes and heroines is the very reason such magazines have been banned at our house. But here was the same kind of drivel printed in a sound, respectable family newspaper. Let me quote from this particular column:

"When I was a little girl," says Linda, a luscious, green-eyed red-head of twenty-three, "I hoped like all other little girls that one day I'd meet a handsome, intelligent, kind, thoughtful man, and when I met Ty, I was completely overcome."

Actually Linda wasn't at all overcome the first time she trained her beautiful eyes on the future man

of her dreams. Two years ago, in Hollywood, she went to a party Mr. and Mrs. Power (Annabella) gave for Mrs. Vincent Astor, and the extent of the impression that either Linda or Ty made on each other is this—Linda only just remembers that first meeting. Ty doesn't at all!

It was in Rome last summer that Linda had her second—but first in importance—meeting with Tyrone. The romance took a blazing turn immediately. All indications—at present—point to a wedding in Italy at the end of January, when Ty's divorce from Annabella will be final.

I asked Linda if she and her movie star fiancé ever will make a picture together. "I'd love to," she replied, "but I don't want any one to think I'm riding to fame on Ty's name. When I get to be a big star myself, it will be different."

What an honest person this reluctance to ride to fame on Ty's name makes Linda!

Our children are taught that marriage is a serious thing, not to be entered into lightly, that it is "till death do us part." They are taught these things. They see homes and families established on these principles. But it all appears pretty stodgy and humdrum compared with the glamorous life led by the idols of the motion-picture screen.

Their successive affairs of the heart are written up as great recurring romances. "Friendly" divorces are glorified as the way "civilized" people do things in this age of enlightenment.

"We're still the best of friends," is the tenor of such comment after every divorce, "but two artistic temperaments like ours just couldn't exist together. It wouldn't be fair to either of us. He [or she] is a grand person and I hope that he [or she] finds true love as I did."

Thus endeth the interview.

Of course, the next "true love" usually ends the same way as the last—but the build-up is always the same.

Mature minds are shocked and revolted by such a display of bad taste—to say nothing of bad morals—but insidious implications are planted in the innocent minds and imaginations of our growing children.

Years of listening to children's discussion of movies and movie stars—and these discussions go on for hours on end—have convinced me that the children are more deeply influenced by the propaganda about the private lives and loves of the stars than they are by the stories enacted on the screen.

One particular incident will illustrate this point. As a birthday-party treat, our girls and a group of neighborhood children attended a movie—a fine, wholesome story on the A list. During the ice-cream-and-cake session that followed the movie, conversation turned to what they had seen.

"That was a good picture," said Kay, "and did you know that the man is going to marry the girl who took the part of the wife? He used to be married to the other girl—the one that was so funny."

"Gee, no wonder they kissed like that!" chimed in Eileen. "Just waiting for the divorce to go through, I guess."

And we naively believe that the story is the thing!

Literature & Art

Our needs in films and radio

Dennis X. Duffy

Since the Spanish-American war, millions of words have bespattered Catholic publications on the virtues, the shortcomings and the needs of the Catholic press. It seems that even now Catholic writers are being analyzed, their defects noted and their subconscious selves plumbed to explain why they do or do not tick. Of essays on the importance of a Catholic daily (like the *Christian Science Monitor*, the sages ordinarily admonish us) there has been no end.

All this is on the side of the angels. Agreed on is the idea of a bigger, better, more virile and more intelligent Catholic press. As Neil MacNeil has cogently pointed out in "The Needs of the Catholic Press" (AMERICA, Feb. 21, 1948) that press would benefit by more capable editors, more gifted writers and vastly more subscribers. As to dailies, there is not only the *Christian Science Monitor* at which to aim. The Communists have two dailies functioning very smoothly on the Atlantic and Pacific seabards, both established within a decade which saw the only Catholic daily of our times expire because of circulatory and financial malnutrition. Prior to that, in 1921, a well-planned attempt to establish a Catholic daily died a-borning.

But what of the other instrumentalities mentioned by Mr. MacNeil as being brought to a high point of efficiency in the worldwide communistic campaign of propaganda? What of the films and the radio?

"Capture the films," said Lenin, to one of his Commissioners for Education, "and you capture the hearts and the minds of the people." As a result of this sound advice and its intelligent application, the Communists have made of the motion picture so serviceable a weapon that they have not only reconstructed mentally—and to their own purposes—millions who can neither read nor write, but they have been able actually to invade the American market with propaganda films that have brought back to Russia millions of dollars to improve techniques and to blaze new paths for intellectual and political conquests.

The Communists have organized this field. Catholics have virtually ignored it. There has been very little in the past five years to indicate that Catholics of the United States are making an attempt to emulate the astute, powerful and highly successful endeavors of the Communists on the screen. Italian Catholics—poverty-stricken, hunger-bitten and harried with a multitude of woes—are still so zealous for souls that they are even now supplying

ten thousand of the twenty-four thousand Italian parishes with projectors, and are spending two million lire on a motion picture dealing with the catechism. American Catholics, in proportion to their number and power, are trailing behind France, England and Italy in the use of religious films.

Most Catholics in the United States do not distinguish between entertainment and educational, or, if you will, propaganda films. Many do not realize the difference between the 35mm on an inflammable celluloid base, restricted by law to use in such structures as are properly fire-proofed, and the 16mm film on a non-inflammable acetate base, projected by a portable machine.

During the Disney strike of 1942, 16mm Russian films were quite the vogue in Hollywood. It was certainly not by mere chance that weary pickets, returning from the camp established outside the Disney lot in Burbank, were provided with film entertainment, at the strike headquarters, which was predominantly Russian. Just why this was so might be guessed by comparing the names of some of the strike leaders with those of persons active in the defense of the "Famous Ten," now indicted because of their refusal to answer certain questions in Washington.

The reason why Catholics are not making use of films as effectively as Communists may be ascribed not only to lack of foresight, but to the superior intelligence and industry of the communistic propagandists. The Catholic position is often excused or palliated by the argument that the Communists have behind them not only a powerful nation with a great war chest and a single ideological background, but that they are as unscrupulous as they are zealous. They do not hesitate to push their cause by any means, fair or unfair. Against these tactics Catholics cannot, under any circumstances, compete.

But what are Catholics doing in comparison with other Christians?

For some years Protestant missionary societies have been operating sound trucks, with both radio facilities and motion-picture equipment, in Latin American countries. It can well be conceived that when the screen is set up and the natives assembled, one of the choice offerings will be John Steinbeck's *The Forgotten Village*. This film, in evangelical circles, is said to stand "not alone for an Indian village in Mexico, not only for the 16,000,000 in Latin American countries, but in reality for the millions of under-privileged people throughout the world whose lives are steeped in tradition, superstition and ignorance." It is advertised to present "the worldwide need of mission lands for an enlightened Christianity."

Do Catholics need to guess at the unnamed target at which this film is aimed?

Last fall a feature writer in the *New York Times* re-

ported on what was being done in the field of religious films. This report said:

Along with the growth of the documentary film since the war has come a marked increase in the production and demand for 16mm religious films in this country. . . . Rome Betts, president of the Protestant Film Commission, representing thirteen denominations, says that there are probably 7,500 churches having projectors, with possibly an equal number having access to them. The YMCA motion-picture bureau, one of the chief distribution agencies of the Protestant Film Commission . . . estimates that the audience for religious films throughout the country amounts to 3,500,000. This figure may be low. Henry Endress, associate stewardship secretary of the United Lutheran Church, declares that more than 1,300,000 people of his denomination alone regularly attend religious films.

The Protestant Film Commission is shortly releasing its first production, *Beyond Our Own*, an evangelistic story. More such films, covering bible stories, Sunday School subjects, social aspects of Christianity, mental health and the American way of living, are being made; seven are slated for 1948. The Episcopalians, Methodists and Lutherans are also very active. Cathedral Films, headed by the Rev. James K. Friedrich, an Episcopalian minister, has been producing films in Hollywood since 1938. It is interesting to note that while Catholics are producing no films of this type, a Jesuit organization, Loyola Films, has contracted for all Cathedral's pictures in Catholic schools.

Imagine! Catholics are trailing so far behind in the production of religious films that they have been reduced to the device of making use of material produced by ministers of other denominations. It would probably be far afield to comment on the Cathedral films being taken over *en bloc* for rental to Catholic schools, but it is certainly consequential to quote Dr. Friedrich's comment of 1940, shortly after he came to Hollywood, when he said: "I cannot understand why the Catholic Church, with its great foresight and superb organization, does not realize the value of religious and educational pictures."

There is a question implied in Dr. Friedrich's astonishment. Why are Catholics, the great, rich, intelligent American Catholics, who are so vociferous in repeating the magic words "Catholic Action," not making such effective use of the films as are the Communists? Or the Lutherans? Or the Episcopalians?

It might be pertinent to suggest some answers.

The average Catholic is ignorant of these films, of how they are made, how much they cost, where they can be procured, by what processes presented and how used most intelligently in schools, catechetical classes, parish halls, societies and general public assemblies. The Catholic press generally has failed to inform its readers about such films. There is considerable "snootiness," disguised as "savoir-faire," among Catholics with respect to these films.

It might be well to illustrate these observations by typical incidents.

A certain bishop who was spoken to about Catholic films, averred that the cost of making pictures was so prohibitive that any such idea was unfeasible. But, even

as the bishop spoke, the Lutherans were preparing to make *The Power of God*, produced by a staff dominantly Catholic, on a budget of far less than \$100,000. This film paid off handsomely, it is asserted, not only in spiritual dividends, but in cash sufficient to finance costlier films. The fact is that some religious films have paid off more than 1,000 per cent of their purchase value in a period of three years, with many more years of dividends yet to be reckoned. Included was at least one Catholic film.

So much about making one film. What about steady production?

A certain priest informed an audience discussing Catholic films that he had heard that to erect a motion-picture studio would cost "millions of dollars." But there was even then in construction a studio which will be able to process—and the processing is the most important technical aspect of the business—films, not only in black and white, but in color, by next summer. And this studio will not cost much more than \$60,000.

So much for the costs. Now as to the Catholic press. The editor of a Catholic publication read by hundreds of thousands, admitted this last winter that he had heard of 16mm religious films, and even believed that his publication was shortly to carry some advertising on them. (These were found to be Dr. Friedrich's films.) Beyond that he knew nothing of them.

Rather more important was the instance of the Philadelphia priest who wrote a solemn essay for a monthly designed for the clergy. It was entitled: "Needed: A Catholic Movie Company." At the time the article was published there had been two Catholic movie companies in operation for several years. When this was explained, in writing, to the reverend editor of the publication, and details given as to the work done by the two converts who were and still are the only lay producers of Catholic



films in the United States, the communication was rejected because it was "too promotional." Obviously, "too promotional" literature in respect to Catholic films is not fit fare for the clergy. But the *Christian Century*, and the *People's World* and the *Daily Worker* are not above using material that seems too promotional for their people.

In the field of making and distributing religious films, American Catholics lack leadership but not inspiration.

Most of their inspiration might well come from Fan-chon Royer and W. H. S. Foster, both converts, who are the only two lay producers of Catholic films. Miss Royer has been making motion pictures since 1928. Her first successful films, *This is the Life* and *Alimony Madness*, were Broadway fare, the character of which can be judged by the titles. Her introduction to religious films marked her entrance into the Church.

In 1940 a little group of Hollywood Catholics banded together under the name of "The Catholic Film and Radio Guild." Among them was Ted LeBerthon, newspaper columnist, ardent Franciscan devotee and old-time friend of

Miss Royer. Through him she became interested in producing *Mission to America*, a documentary film of the missionary conquest of California and Arizona. (Non-Catholic capital made this film possible.) As a result, she joined the Church, wondering, she said, "why someone hadn't introduced me twenty years ago," and since that time has produced seven other religious films, the last four of which—*Millions Call Him Father*, *Birthplace of Democracy*, *A Fighter for the True Peace* and *The Bell Ringer of Antigua*, produced in Mexico and Guatemala—deal with the beginnings of Christian civilization and culture on the American continent. They are in a sense all answers to *The Forgotten Village*.

W. H. S. Foster's *The Perpetual Sacrifice*, probably the best film on the Mass, is an example of what one person can do against tremendous odds. It was his first motion picture. But he costumed and directed a cast of three hundred, introduced a magnificent choir of sixty voices, and wrestled with difficulties which would have caused one of less faith and determination to throw up the project in despair.

Every Catholic cannot produce films, but every Catholic can participate in a movement to promote and distribute them. Priests and nuns can study the film field; high-school girls can act as ushers; teen-agers can put up posters; older lads can operate projectors. Parish committees can suggest a selection of films for their particular localities, take care of the box-office and generally help to finance showings. Catholic organizations of wider than

parish scope can aid in organizing circuits, which do much to reduce the cost of films.

The program of the Catholic Film and Radio Guild calls for an organization of twelve persons in each diocese to study the film and radio needs and, thereafter, expansion into parishes and other units. Such units should be capable of building up Catholic films as well as the parish spirit.

The answer to the lack of Catholic leadership in radio is akin to that in films. It lies largely in the failure to study radio as the Communists and others have done, and to work at it.

There is a little religious sect in Texas which broadcasts, in three languages, a weekly program on the Bible. This goes over 500 stations in territorial United States and reaches, with records, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Mexico, Peru, Canada, the Bahamas, British Guiana, Newfoundland and Mozambique. Foreign-language broadcasts include eleven in Spanish, of which four are in California, two in Arizona, two in Texas, two in New Mexico and one in New York. There are four Portuguese transmissions, two in California and two in Massachusetts. This group offers a free Bible correspondence course in English, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Japanese and Chinese. It operates courses for adults, juniors, and the blind, as well as courses "streamlined for busy people," with test papers and diplomas for those completing the studies. Where, it might be asked, is there a comparable Catholic effort on the radio?

Books

A "footnote" on Nuremberg

TOTAL POWER

By Edmund A. Walsh, S.J. Doubleday, 373p. \$5.

One of the facts of present international life that frightens as well as encourages men is the unprecedented economic, military and political power at the disposal of those who will direct the destinies of America in the future. This book traces the pattern that power tends to follow when the dictates of conscience and good philosophy are not heeded. At the same time it probes the points at which the totalitarian regimes of the recent unhappy past went off the track into the abyss. Power controlled by justice obedient to the eternal law is the destined mission of America, writes Father Walsh, who is Vice President of Georgetown University and Regent of the School of Foreign Service. The opposite of this was the history of the Nazi regime. The record of Nuremberg, he writes, constitutes the most illuminating and documented commentary ever

composed on the use and abuse of power.

The author was on the staff of the Chief U. S. Prosecutor at the International War Crimes Tribunal, and in the course of uncovering and assaying evidences of religious persecution he had unparalleled opportunities, both as a priest and as a life-time student of geopolitics, to diagnose the moral and philosophical ills that lay behind the atrocities revealed at Nuremberg. The present volume is subtitled "a footnote to history," by which we presume the author wishes to disclaim in this somewhat disjointed work any intent to present a full-blown treatise on geopolitics or the morality of total power.

But it is a footnote that, like other celebrated footnotes, may prove in the end to be more important than the chapter to which it is appended. This philosophico-moral commentary on Nuremberg, by one who had first-hand acquaintance with both the documents and the personalities concerned, opens up broad avenues of reflection for those who are dissatisfied with the superficial explanations usually given today for the causes of the present state of the world. Behind all display of force lies an ideal, an idealistic faith of some sort, and some form of spiritual exaltation. This

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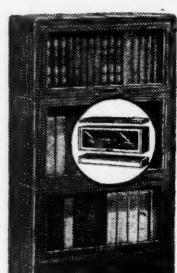
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faith can be good or bad; and, as history tells us, it makes a big difference to mankind which it is.

Hitler's gamble for total power, according to the thesis presented convincingly and through long chapters by the author, had its legitimate parentage in the academic work of German philosophers and founders of German culture. It was "a logical corollary in shining armor of the claims for total power advocated by a long line of pompous German philosophers in academic costume and by a flock of romanticists seeking to recapture the heroic fictions of Valhalla." The consequence of this was that gigantic impossibilities had to be true at Nuremberg because they were born of monumental falsehoods transformed into grandiose Germanic verities. Until this is realized, Nuremberg and all the sordid history revealed there will remain a stumbling block.

The author did not have to go back to Treitschke, Fichte or Herder to illustrate his point, since it was his opportunity to interview at length the master geopolitician, Major General Karl Haushofer, and to receive from the aged professor shortly before his suicide what may well be called the "last will and testament of German geopolitics." It is significant that although Father Walsh accuses the founder of geopolitics of being responsible for the dominant ideas underlying Nazi expansionism, Professor Haushofer was not arrested as a war criminal. It is true that in the later years of the war the old man was out of favor with Hitler, especially after the flight of his former student and protege, Rudolph Hess, and also on account of the resistance activities of his son Albrecht. But the man who held from an academic platform in the name of geopolitics that small states have practically no right to exist shares guilt with those who acted upon that principle. The author puts it this way: "What Haushofer did was to hand over a sheathed sword of conquest from his arsenal of scholarly research. Hitler unsheathed the blade, sharpened the edge, and threw away the scabbard."

It appears then that the work of Nuremberg is not yet over. The academic accomplices of the Nazi terror have not yet been indicted. Meanwhile this essay on power will have a sobering effect on us Americans, who are tasting for the first time the elixir of world-wide political, economic and military influence. It makes a big difference to posterity whether there will arise new Haushofers in our universities to dig the grave of American greatness.

ROBERT A. GRAHAM

ABRAM, SON OF TERAH

By Florence Marvyn Bauer. Bobbs-Merrill. 406p. \$3

This story is built around the brief account of Abraham's early years, as given in the eleventh and twelfth chapters of the book of Genesis. It introduces him as a boy in Ur, and closes with the divine call that sends him into the distant land of Canaan. Inside the covers, front and back, there is a helpful two-page map of Mesopotamia in 2,000 B.C. with three insets showing the city of Ur, the temple hill and a ground-plan of the house of Terah. Facing

Chapter One there is also a table of the members of Terah's large household, together with a list of the other leading characters in the story.

Socially, the main feature is polygamy; religiously, it is polytheism and Abram's struggle against it; politically, it is the aggressive hostility of shifting empires.

Terah's family is ruled by Amtiia, the mother of Abram, and she conducts at home a lucrative business in weaving to augment the comparatively scanty profits made by her husband in his trade as coppersmith. But the house is cluttered up with Terah's other wives, their

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children, their in-laws and numerous slaves. In this medley the boy Abram feels lost and unwanted. The time has come for him to follow the pagan custom of choosing some god as his patron, and he is busy with the problem. The search for a patron constitutes the main theme of the story, which rises to a climax when his dislike for the gods and for their priests leads him into open rebellion.

In this state of depression, ill at ease with himself and with the world around him, Abram gets acquainted with Ebed, a slave who even under the hardships of his slavery enjoys a serenity of soul unknown to Abram. The slave is an Amorite, and his strength and peace come from his faith in the one true God, Yah. According to Ebed, unfaltering faith is the first thing demanded by Yah, and Abram rebels again and again against such an attitude as he passes through various painful experiences that make up the novel.

The clash of arms is heard frequently as the rival empire of Akkad threatens Sumer, which is further weakened by the restlessness of its outlying provinces where the burden of intolerable taxes stirs the people to rebellion.

As in her previous novel, *Behold Your King*, in which the scene was Palestine in the time of Our Lord, here the author again gives a picture of the times that makes them come alive, while the personal experiences of the chief actors are rich in dramatic power.

WILLIAM A. DOWD

The Word

PILLARS OF OUR FAITH

14. *Jesus Christ*. Do you know that sometimes I feel a certain difficulty about the apostles which affects my admiration for them? After all, in order to believe in Jesus Christ they didn't need much apologetics. It was all very easy. They had first-hand evidence. Christ was there before their eyes, full-sized and ready to answer their questions. With us, things are incomparably harder. We must believe in the divinity of somebody we know only by hearsay. We must journey to Him through books, texts and records, which often are not too clear. We miss the full impact of the living person. We came too late into the world. When we were born, Christ had left already, and we were confronted with only a kind of visiting card: the Gospel. The apostles were splendid martyrs; there is no doubt about that. But, in the matter of faith, I believe our task is harder than theirs. I realize it perfectly every time I repeat the words of the Creed: *Our Lord Jesus Christ*. . . .

In spite of the appearances, you are wrong. Catholic doctrine visualizes the apostles as the pioneers of the faith; and the pioneer who blazes the trail makes the road easier for those who follow. In the Catholic Church we are simply keeping the faith of the apostles, and nothing more. Our Creed is the apostolic Creed. If you stop a moment to think over this question, you will discover something startling.

I am ready to be startled, but don't be shocking!

Perhaps the very truth is sometimes shocking, and for slumberers a shock is not bad. The startling discovery is that man instinctively recoils from a God who comes too near; and his first move, to avoid this close encounter, is to persuade himself that he is only dreaming, that it cannot be true, that God is afar and that there is a safe distance between man and the Omnipotent. You say that the apostles had Christ before their eyes. But the great difficulty for them was to believe that this Man, born among them, walking, talking, eating, sleeping, like the rest of their people, was the Son of God and the Maker of the universe. Don't you see that this humility of Christ, so plain, so complete, so commonplace, was a kind of formidable screen hiding His divinity? Do realize, please, that for the apostles and their contemporaries, Jesus Christ was just Mr. Smith or Mr. Jones. In order to believe that Mr. Jones was the only-begotten Son of God, they needed the internal light coming from the Father. To peer through the human screen and to recognize the mysterious glimmer of divinity itself in this plain man—*perfectus homo*—that was a miracle of pure faith. And don't forget that all the Christians who believe in the divinity of Christ must be ready to admit that God washed and breakfasted. That is the challenge of the Incarnation: God enshrouded in all the oddities, the routine, the unspeakable prose, of human life. For us it is easier to believe, because we are not brought face to face with these shocking realities. Nevertheless there is one thing I cannot understand, and here it is: when a Christian has once admitted the tremendous fact of the Incarnation, I cannot understand why he should scream and protest against the "pretensions"

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of the Pope, who claims, with good reason, to be the Vicar of Christ; or against the real presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament. The shortcomings of the Pope and the frail and flat aspect of bread and wine are too much for him. He is unable and unwilling to peer "through the flesh," while believing that the Word was made flesh. Of course, he would have protested in the same way if he had lived in Galilee and if somebody, pointing to a little urchin playing in the dust, had said to him: "You see this small boy; He is the Creator of the sun and the moon and the stars, and everybody will be judged by Him."

PIERRE CHARLES, S.J.

Theatre

S. S. GLENCAIRN. It would be nice if the people who pass out awards for distinguished work in the theatre would find one for José Ferrer before they reach the bottom of the barrel and close up shop for the summer. Assuming that Mr. Ferrer, as general director of The New York City Theatre Company, had the deciding say in arranging the dramatic program presented by the New York City Center of Music and Drama, in City Center Theatre, he certainly rates some kind of medal, citation, ribbon or something. When this review appears, the attraction in City Center will be *The Insect Comedy*, the eighth play of the spring season, the twelfth of the theatrical year. By crowding a dozen revivals in as many weeks, Mr. Ferrer presented a variety of classic and modern plays that was a welcome windfall to theatregoers with thin billfolds. The total cost of all City Center productions, per person, was \$14.40, only a little more than it would cost to take the woman in your life to a single performance of *Brigadoon*.

The second production of the spring program, current as I write, is a group of four one-act plays by Eugene O'Neill—*Moon of the Caribbees*, *In the Zone*, *Bound East for Cardiff* and *The Long Voyage Home*—offered under the collective title, S. S. Glencairn. Early O'Neill is becoming homologous with the rare specimens which connoisseurs of stamps and old prints call collector's items. As professional theatre pieces, the plays of his Cape Cod period are going out of circulation, and for some reason they seem to be out of favor among the more competent experi-

mental groups. When they are staged at all, it is usually by amateurs just falling in love with the theatre, and usually in some inconvenient and poorly publicized location. Even in the library, the plays hardly fare any better; for O'Neill, unlike such dramatists as Yeats, Wilde and Synge, does not clothe his stories in musical prose that invites a second or tenth reading. On the first encounter, they are vivid and interesting; but after that they are likely to be placed on the top shelf of the bookcase, or relegated to the attic, along with other second-best books. Mr. Ferrer deserves our gratitude for reviving O'Neill's early efforts and mounting them in a good production.

Each of the plays is an episode in the passage of the Glencairn from the West Indies to Cardiff and describes the tensions, boredom and debauches of the crew aboard ship and ashore. There is irony in each story, and the grim humor familiar to the men who do the world's muscle work. Herbert Brodkin designed the sets that reflected the over-all mood of the plays, and a company of conscientious performers gave them an imaginative interpretation. Outstanding performances were those of George Mathews, as a two-fisted seaman, and Mr. Ferrer, as a waterfront vulture.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

Films

THE TIME OF YOUR LIFE. Though ordinarily film moguls trip over one another vying for the screen rights to successful Broadway plays, there was no such queuing up over this twice crowned (by Pulitzer Committee and Critics' Circle) barroom idyl in which author William Saroyan continues his love affair with the little people of the world. The big producing companies shied away because there was a minimum of conventional plot or action in the story of Joe, the Doctor Johnson of Nick's San Francisco saloon who led "a

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truly civilized life" by drinking champagne and lending a sympathetic ear to the pipe dreams and aspirations of its odd assortment of patrons. Star James Cagney, who plays Joe, and his independent producer-brother William have had the temerity to film this loosely amalgamated series of character sketches almost exactly as originally written. The entire cast (William Bendix, Jeanne Cagney and James Barton chief among them) is excellently chosen and knowingly directed, and the picture reflects an artistic, high-minded approach to film-making which deserves to be crowned with success. However, the unity and the illusion of meaning which the stage version boasted vanish under the probing eye of the camera. Adults will find many rewarding moments of pathos and wry humor, iso-

lated by passages of philosophizing which furnish neither sense nor continuity, only boredom. (United Artists)

MELODY TIME. Walt Disney's third annual feature-length variety show, like its predecessors, provides a spread of lively, gaudy and uneven family entertainment. Seven popular musicians furnish vocal or instrumental accompaniment to unrelated sketches, the technique of which—except for two excursions into the tricky but inartistic business of combining live figures with animated—shows more of the old Disney magic than has been seen on one strip of film for many a day. "Bumble Boogie," in which Freddy Martin's rendition of Rimsky-Korsakoff accompanies the pictured flight of a harassed bee from a pursuing piano keyboard, is a complete delight. On the other side of the ledger are an insipid series of tableaux illustrating "Trees," and Ethel Smith and her organ tangling with a collection of Latin-American birds in "Blame It on the Samba." Two American folk legends—"Pecos Bill" and "Johnny Appleseed"; "Once upon a Wintertime," an old-fashioned Valentine romance which takes a startlingly melodramatic turn; and the saga of "Little Toot," the mischievous tugboat, which rounds out the program, all display superbly conceived backgrounds, coupled with stories whose flights of fancy would have profited by the application of a little intelligent discipline. (RKO)

MOIRA WALSH

Parade

TO PEOPLE YEARNING FOR AN era of widespread good fellowship on earth, the week's news must have been disappointing. . . . A totally different type of era was seen emerging, as the dispatches crackling over the wires reported anti-social tendencies being activated over vast areas. Up and down the land, disorder reared its head. . . . Generation battled against generation. . . . In Johnson City, N. Y., a baby sitter was attacked by the baby, struck over the head with a golf club. . . . Individual preyed on individual. . . . A San Francisco purse-snatcher snatched a woman's handbag containing a dozen muffins, ran off with it. . . . In Yonkers, N. Y., a burglar jimmied into a home, robbed a piggy bank. . . . Husbands showed little affection for wives. . . . In St. Louis, a four-foot circus midget

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climbed on a chair, smacked his five-foot, seven-inch wife in the eye. She sued for divorce. . . . Wives were inconsiderate. . . . A California husband, asked why he had not paid a traffic fine, told the judge he had given his wife the money to pay the fine, but she had used it instead as a down-payment toward a divorce. . . . Neighbor lined up against neighbor. . . . In Massachusetts an eight-year-old boy ordered a candy bar, handed over a hundred-dollar bill in payment. The boy, police learned, had found \$900 hidden in a neighbor's cellar, planned to lay in a large supply of candy bars with the neighbor's savings. . . . In Wilmington, N. C., a citizen told the judge that while he was bending over he was "suddenly and without warning whatsoever struck sharply in the rear" by a neighbor's goat. The goat followed up, the citizen added, by chasing him three laps around his house, and when he finally managed to dive into his auto, the goat began butting the car. For all the butting sustained, the citizen petitioned for \$5,650 damages. . . . Intellectuals seemed indifferent about brightening up the era. . . . In Salt Lake City, the author of a book on how to spot a pickpocket, was spotted picking pockets, arrested. . . . Indeed, non-humans appeared better disposed toward the brighter-era idea than humans. . . . Accosted by a holdup man, a Detroit woman screamed: "Help, Help!" A thousand parrots in a nearby aviary took up her cry, filled the neighborhood with yells for "Help, Help!" For more than an hour after the terrified thug had fled, the parrots continued screaming: "Help, Help!"

Human beings could become much better than they are. . . . When they improve, the news will improve. . . . Strangely enough, this modern age, which places so much emphasis upon public relations, places little or no emphasis upon man's most important relationship. . . . It is profoundly interested in "people getting along with people." . . . It does not care whether or not "people get along with God." . . . There is much unhappiness in this world, and the root reason is that too many human beings are not "getting along with God." . . . Right in this world is God's public-relations organization—the Catholic Church. . . . The Catholic Church is God's method of establishing harmonious relations between Himself and the human race, of enabling human beings to get along with God.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

Correspondence

Judge-made law

EDITOR: The recent Supreme Court decision in *McCollum v. The Champaign Board of Education* is quite in line with the continuing extension of Federal power by means of stretched construction of taxing, interstate commerce and navigation clauses of the Constitution. Just the other day the same Supreme Court announced the hitherto unheard of doctrine that there could be a valid contract which at the same time the courts could not enforce. The McCollum decision holds that the States, in the First Amendment providing that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," denied these powers to themselves. The very purpose of the First Amendment was to prohibit Congress' making any law interfering with the then-existing State tax-supported churches. In other words, the First Amendment prevented Congress from interfering with the union of church and state that existed in some of the commonwealths.

Too long have we been quiet about this growth of Federal power by judicial construction, until now we begin to see the end of the Federal republic and the beginning of the consolidated state. It is better to suffer evils in some States—which may seem to be evils only because of misinformation or difference of opinion—than to permit Washington to take control in order to change something because it is not in conformity with the majority opinion. Federal grants in aid, including Federal subsidies to education, always mean Federal regulation and control. When used to abolish something that is bad, they may also be used to destroy what is good. It is far safer to achieve reform within the structure of the States than to destroy the States themselves in the name of a speedy result. There is nothing in the history of Federal activity, including the enforcement of the prohibition act, that proves the case for any Federal agency against the ability of these States to govern themselves.

The Fourteenth Amendment was an unwarranted assumption that the States' judgment was not as good as Washington's. A constitutional provision restricting its scope is worthy of consideration.

STEPHEN L. BLAKELY
Covington, Ky.

But butter is healthier

EDITOR: Is oleo nutritionally superior to butter? What doctors have assured the writer of your editorial, "Butter and Oleo" (AMERICA, April 10), that it is? And on what data does James B. Kelley base the statement in his article, "Poor man's butter?" (May 1): "As far as nourishment is concerned, there is not much to choose between butter and oleo, but what difference there is, is in favor of the margarine?"

The Lee Foundation for Nutritional Research, Milwaukee, Wisconsin—a non-profit, public-service institution, chartered by the State of Wisconsin to investigate and disseminate facts relating to nutrition—has done considerable research on butter. D. T. Quigley, M.D., F.P.C.S., in his book, *The National Malnutrition*, published by the Foundation, has this to say on the subject:

Any synthetic concoction which is supposed to replace a natural food is, at best, unsatisfactory. Oleo-margarine is no substitute for butter. Any attempt to fortify it with Vitamin A is answering but a small part of its shortcomings. It totally lacks the vitamins D, E and unsaturated fatty acids (Vitamin F) found in butter. It is also lacking in the minerals and phosphates found in butter.

By all means, let us remove the taxes on oleo. Buy oleo if you don't want to spend the money for butter. But, for heaven's sake, let us not fool ourselves and the public as to what kind of substitute we are getting.

LOUISE C. DEWEY
Dorchester, Mass.

Social security

EDITOR: Some time before his death the late Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts was much concerned about social security for those on the staffs of what he termed "non-profit" organizations. He had among his friends three who had worked for small recompense as investigators and court workers, taking up studies in adult classes in the social sciences. It is said that Senator Walsh made an address in the Senate, asking financial security for underpaid and non-provided-for social workers. Who is carrying on the valiant Senator's work today?

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